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THE LATIN TEACHER AND THE LEGIONS

By Lt. Col. John R. Elting United States Military Academy

ATIN-today-is theoretically a dead language, usually taught by dedicated ladies. Actually, as we all know, it is a language that we speak every day. While preparing this paper, I went through two dictionaries-one of them a dictionary of Army terms, the other a joint Army-Navy-Air Force dictionary. Over half of the words defined in them were practically pure Latin — and about half of the remainder had more-or-less legal Latin grandfathers. This situation is, of course, only natural. In its day, Latin was the language of one of the most warlike and military-minded nations in history. Behind each Latin lesson that you teach stands the Roman legion. Whatever Latin classic you may place before your students, the shadow of some ghostly centurion stands chuckling in the corner of your classroom. Latin is still a treasured part of the earth's heritage of knowledge today because of him and men like him-sweaty, hobnailed, roughneck fighting men-who built and kept the Roman state, and so made Latin the universal language of the western world. Caesar's writings are still a major military classic. The first thing Vergil tells us is that he proposes to sing of ancient, leg-endary wars. And, when we get to the heart of Cicero's denunciation of Catiline, we find that Cicero's selfconfidence stems from the fact that he has Rome's legions at his back.

The very word "Rome" conjures up visions of those iron legions marching behind their eagles. From approximately 200 B.C. to almost 400 A.D. it was the armored legionary who imposed the Roman rule and the Roman peace upon most of the known world. It was he who ensured the cultural heritage we have derived from the Roman civilization. Furthermore, he himself has left us an additional heritage: the lesson of how a comparative handful of well-organized, well-trained, self-confident fighting men-proud of their Roman citizenship and of their status as soldiers-could guard the development of western civilization for six vital centuries. Any attempt to teach Latin without some knowledge of the leA CALL TO ACTION

Readers will recall the encouraging account of action on behalf of the classics that appeared on the first page of the current October issue. Be sure to read the further developments that are reported on page 63 of this issue, and, more important, to follow the suggestions there made for your participation.

gions that once spoke it, is somewhat like trying to teach algebra without having learned the multiplication tables.

To acquire this knowledge of Roman military history and of the Roman military art is a major project. Also, it is hard to put this knowledge into capsule form-after all, it covers a span of more than eleven hundred years, and there are some portions of it over which various authorities are still squabbling. But there are a number of excellent books on the subject, and one of them will frequently lead you to another. I can remember my first reading in Caesar's Commentaries; it was as if a great gate had opened on a highway into a new kingdom-and I still have not come to the end of that road.

When you look into the military history of Rome, one major fact immediately becomes apparent. In the words of General Charles de Gaulle -a gentleman with considerable experience in both the practical and the theoretical aspects of the military art: "It is by the history of its le-gions that Rome is best understood." And so it is that we can trace the history of Rome in the history of its fighting organizations: the homeguard militia of the ancient semimythical kingdom; the national guard of the early republic; the long-service professional regulars of the late republic and the early empire; the colonial auxiliaries, the Praetorian Guard, and the barbarian mercenaries of the late empire. Rome and its legions grew strong, mighty, and famous together; when Rome degenerated and fell away, its legions likewise weakened from within and lost their military virtues. So Rome fell.

But here we find a curious thing. For generations after the average Roman had lost all sense of patriotism-when Roman aristocrat and city mob alike looked upon military service only as something to be avoided at all costs-for generations thereafter, the Roman military system still functioned. The legions and their auxiliaries held the frontier forts and lines, behind which a careless empire lay in safety. The men in their ranks were seldom Romans, except as they earned the rank and privilege of a Roman citizen by a life-time of soldiering; their officers also were increasingly foreign-born. Yet, officers and men alike, they cherished the traditions of the legions in which they served and they followed their eagles as faithfully as any Romanborn. This was one of the great periods of the professional soldier-the hard-case, toughened, long-service regular. Possibly he did his job too well. He kept Rome safe—so safe that the average citizen lost all interest in things military and ignored the barbarian threat beyond the frontiers. A population of moneyminded pacifists does not make a good source of recruits.

We have noted that the composition of the legion changed from cen-tury to century, that the typical legionary was by turns militia-man, regular, and mercenary. His organization, weapons, equipment, and tactics likewise went through a constant process of evolution. In fact, in such matters there was almost as much difference between the Roman legionary of 500 B.C. and his descendant of 100 A.D. as there was between one of George Washington's Continentals and a World War II G.I. These changes were many and complex, but they generally resulted from one of the Roman's outstanding characteristics-his common sense.

The early Roman was good military material, but tough fighting men of the same type could be found all over Italy. The difference was that a long succession of individual Romans gave a little thought to this business of how to win wars. Possibly it was a matter of survival; early Rome seems to have been at war with its neighbors a good deal of the time and to have frequently been close to disaster. Only an efficient military system could survive

under those circumstances. The Roman was efficient, and not ashamed to learn from his enemies—he got his famous short sword from the Spanish guerrillas which gave him so much trouble, and he learned the importance of cavalry and a navy from the Carthaginians.

But he developed a number of things for himself. Discipline was one of the first characteristics of the Roman army to attract the attention of contemporary historians. Now "discipline" is something more than saluting and keeping out of the 500 B.C. version of the guardhouse. It was what kept the individual legionary firm in his ranks, ready to meet any enemy: the Macedonian phalanx, the Asiatic horse archer, or the howling rush of German tribesmen. It made the legion a fighting machine instead of a crowd of individual fighters. (I think that George Bernard Shaw, of all people, gave us one of the best descriptions of the legion in his Caesar and Cleopatra: "a man with one head, a thousand arms, and no religion.") But this discipline could do even more: it held troops to their duty despite cold, hunger, and constant danger, and it made the Roman army an army that went out "not to battle, but to war"—and made Rome a nation that might be defeated, but could not be conquered.

Allied to this discipline was constant, detailed, painstaking drill. Josephus described the Roman drills as bloodless battles and their battles as bloody drills. It was this drill in everything from the use of the legionary's individual weapons to the art of maneuvering several legions that put the professional stamp on the Roman soldier. Even barbarian recruits could be passed through this rigorous training and come out professional Roman soldiers.

Finally, there was the technical side of this common-sense approach to the gentle art of cutting throats and splitting heads. Consider the Roman habit of preparing a fortified camp at each halt. Their opponents considered this particularly unsporting; the Roman could fight or not, just as he chose. His supplies were safe; he could sleep soundly at night and digest his supper in peace. He could, if he chose, sit behind his field fortifications until a barbarian enemy ran out of food, squabbled, and began going home. As his proverb put it, he could "conquer by sitting still." Along with these camps were the Roman roads, built by the legions themselves between campaigns, enabling them to move swiftly from one end of the Roman imperium to the other. In short, the Roman was a practical man; he fought not for glory, but to win. He trained and disciplined his men thoroughly, toughened them physically and mentally, gave them the best weapons and equipment available. At the same time, he appreciated the psychological importance of regular rations.

In many ways, the Roman legion

THE IDES OF MARCH

"Fuisse traditur excelsa statura, colore candido, teretibus membris, ore paulo pleniore, nigris vegetisque oculis," according to Suetonius' Vita (45.1). Why not commemorate the death of Divus Iulius in class, club, or assembly? For materials, see The Classical Outlook for February, page 58.

was a very modern organization. There was an official savings bank to encourage soldiers to save their pay; commanders worried because their men were putting on weight between campaigns; legionaries tried to avoid KP, young soldiers wrote home for food and some extra spending money, and officers worried about promotion.

There had been other famous armies before the Romans. Alexander the Great and his Macedonians carried out a greater campaign than any Roman ever could achieve. Yet Alexander's empire died with him; the Roman Empire grew steadily. Classical historians noted the difference and had their own explanation: the Greek and the Macedonian were brave enough, but remained individualists. They would fight, but they considered it beneath their dignity to fortify their camps and build roads. They resented discipline and -when not in action-seldom submitted to it. The Macedonian and the Greek were warriors; the Roman was a soldier. An Alexander could do marvelous things with a Macedonian army, but Alexanders are very rare. With a Roman army, any moderately capable commander could win victories-and quite a few absolute blockheads suddenly became conquering heroes.

There is one final thought on this Roman military heritage that has come to America through the teach-

ing of Latin in our schools. Less than two hundred years ago, Americans took up arms against the might of Great Britain—then unquestionably the strongest nation in Europe, newly victorious over the great kingdoms of France and Spain. The American colonies had few trained officers. And these few, like Washington, had played very minor parts in the French and Indian War some twenty years earlier. That being the case, where did men like Nathanael Greene, Henry Knox, and "Mad Anthony" Wayne obtain their knowledge of war? Much of it came out of one or two Latin books-Caesar's Commentaries and Vegetius' Military Institutions of the Romans. In the case of Wayne and Knox, this classical tendency is especially apparent. When they organized the first effi-cient units of the United States Army in the desperate days of 1792, they organized them on the model of the Roman legion. And, from 1792 through 1796, the United States Army was the "Legion of the United States"-the organization that won the Battle of Fallen Timbers, cleared the Indians and their British backers from the Northwest Territory, and established this country as an independent nation, capable of defending

Colonial America had no military schools, but—judging from the final outcome of our Revolutionary War—quite a few unknown Latin teachers must have had a considerable hand in winning it by proxy! Probably they were the ones who realized that there was something more to Latin than mere words—the ones who somehow sensed the presence of that ghostly centurion, watching from the shadows in a corner of their classroom.

(Editor's Note: We depart from our usual practice by including Col. Elting's bibliography, which is of unusual interest and value to the teacher of Caesar.

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MEETINGS

The following meetings of interest to classicists and not yet recorded in these pages have been called to our attention. They are presented here in chronological order.

October 20, 1960.—Minnesota Classical Conference, at the University of Minnesota;

November 13, 1960.—Fall meeting of the New Jersey Classical Association, at Atlantic City;

November 24-26, 1960.—Southern Section of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, jointly with the North Carolina Classical Association, at Chapel Hill;

November 26, 1960.—Fall meeting of the Classical Association of the Atlantic States, at Atlantic City;

December 3, 1960.—Winter meeting of the Classical Association of the Pacific States, Southern Section, at the University of California in Los Angeles;

March 17-18, 1961.—Thirty-third national convention of Eta Sigma Phi, at Marquette University;

April 6-8, 1961.—Fifty-seventh annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, in Cleveland, Ohio;

April 7-8, 1961.—Fifty-fifth annual meeting of the Classical Association of New England, at the College of the Holy Cross;

April 14-15, 1961. — Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, New York, N. Y.;

April 27-29, 1961. — Fourteenth University of Kentucky Foreign Language Conference, at the University of Kentucky;

April 28-29, 1961. — Fifty-fourth annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Atlantic States, at Hunter College.

A CALL TO ACTION

In the Conference Room of the United States Commissioner of Education in Washington, D. C., a meeting was held on Wednesday, December 7, 1960, to discuss recommendations of the American Classical League and the American Philological Association looking toward the revision of the National Defense Education Act. These recommendations have as their purpose the inclusion of the humanities in general and of the classical languages in particular in those sections of the Act (Titles III and VI) which are now confined to mathematics, the sciences, and modern foreign languages. Present were the Commissioner of Education, Dr. Lawrence G. Derthick; Dr. Ralph C. M. Flynt, Assistant Commissioner in charge of legislative services for the Office of Education; Dr. Chester L. Neudling, Specialist for the Humanities, Office of Education; Mr. Charles W. Radcliffe, Dr. Flynt's assistant; Dr. Gordon B. Turner, Executive Associate of the American Council of Learned Societies; Dean John F. Latimer, President of the American Classical League; and Dean Harry L. Levy, Secretary-Treasurer of the American Philological Association.

The government officials expressed deep interest in the points of view put forth by the ACL and APA representatives, and emphasized their willingness to consider specific proposals. A letter embodying the recently adopted joint statement of the two societies, and presenting specific suggestions for amending the Act, has already been sent to the Commissioner.

The entire matter will soon be in the hands of the two houses of Congress, and it is here that the aid of every classicist is needed. Personal contact with your own Senators and Representatives, if you have access to them, is best. Next best is a personal letter to the two Senators from your home state, and to the Representative from your own congressional district. The letter should be written, of course, in your own words, and should make it clear that you are the legislator's constituent. Some of the points that we suggest you make, either orally or in writing, are these:

1) The present Act is heavily overbalanced in favor of the sciences and the modern foreign languages. If continued in its present form, it will result in a lopsided educational program, especially in view of the additional support given to the sciences by the National Science Foundation and federal and private industrial research programs. What is needed is a redressing of the balance

by strong NDEA support for the humanities.

2) Latin and Greek are the prime instruments for attaining a first-hand knowledge of some of the most important documents in our humanistic tradition.

3) The classical languages provide a valuable introduction to general language study. Latin in particular is a sound basis for a full and sensitive understanding of various modern languages, especially the Romance tongues, which are Latin's direct descendants.

Local and regional classical associations can help by adopting as soon as possible resolutions embodying ideas similar to those expressed above, and by sending these resolutions to the Senators and Representatives of the areas covered by their memberships. Parents' groups and student associations such as the Junior Classical League and Eta Sigma Phi can do their part. More important, however, than the resolutions of organizations are the individual letters from all concerned—classicists, parents, and students—which have been recommended above.

When specific legislation has been introduced, the representatives of ACL and APA will let the classical community know which specific bill or bills they urge them to support, or what amendments they suggest that they ask for.

The fate of classical studies in the United States for the next several decades may well be decided by the degree to which classicists throughout the nation support the efforts

of the two national societies to have the NDEA revised to provide properly for humanistic and classical education.

(signed) John F. Latimer, President, American Classical League (signed) Harry L. Levy, Secretary-Treasurer, American Philological Association

Inquiries concerning the foregoing may be addressed to either of the following: Dean John F. Latimer, The George Washington University, Washington 6, D. C.; Dean Harry L. Levy, Hunter College in the Bronx, New York 68, N. Y.

LETTERS FROM OUR READERS

WE WUZ WRONG!

This is the heading under which the Jackson (Mich.) Citizens' Patriot printed a letter pointing out that the newspaper had erred gravely in an editorial of October 15, 1960, on Khrushchev's visit to the United Nations, in saying that Julius Caesar "started his famed commentaries on the Gallic wars with three words: 'Veni, vidi, vici.'" The editor added in a note, "Our faces are as red as Plutarch's [to whom the letter had made learned reference] should have been." The writer of the letter was John Bennett, a student of Miss Jessie Chambers, federations chairman of the Junior Classical League, who was good enough to send us the pertinent clippings.

POETAE OVIDIANAE

Miss Winifred Hill, of the Northfield School for Girls, East Northfield, Mass., has sent in a handsome dittoed pamphlet, with a carefully drawn cover page bearing the title Carmina Juvenilium Poetarum and the date "MCMLX," the whole surrounded by a green-colored vine. The twelve poems that the pamphlet contains are labeled "Ex opere Ovidi." Miss Hill writes:

"Last spring my Latin III class, after reading quite a bit of Ovid, undertook to write some verse in English based on the stories found in Ovid's poems. From a group of thirty-eight poems, we selected twelve which we duplicated, making copies for ourselves and some of our friends. I am sending you our little magazine as an example of a project undertaken by an enthusiastic group of Ovid students."

DOCTI DOCTE LUDUNT

Our readers will enjoy the following exchange of notes between two old enthusiasts of the ars Latine scribendi et iocandi, Goodwin B. Beach, of Trinity College in Hartford, Conn., and John Colby, of Phillips Academy in Andover, Mass.

"Iohannes Bonamico suo. Ausculta! -tur DE FORCE:

Turbine turbatur turis perturbida turba.

Nunc est abhorrendum! Nemo enim peiorem versum scripsit, ne Tullius quidem. Displicetur tibi, Bonamice? Ego quem nosti hunc versum composui, Iohannes tuus, etiam compos mentis. Ignosce mihi qui lingua nostra ita abutar. Hoc perlecto, cura valeas!

"Non. Apriles, MCMLX"

"Bonamicus Iohanni.

Heu, mugit miserandus amicus mente minutus,

Quem nemo dacrumis decoret nec funera fletu

Faxit. Funera fatis fandis iam sibi fecit.

Nonne hi etiam horribiliores lectu, dictu, visu, auditu? Isto autem lecto satis valeo. Vale.

ROMAN ROADS: A MODERN VERSION By M. D. LAFOUNTAIN

Trenton, N. J. WHEN NATIONAL JCL conventions were inaugurated several years ago, the number of delegates was usually from four to five hundred, and their chief aim, in respect to travel, was to get there and back as quickly and as cheaply as possible. Now that the convention has grown, students and sponsors have discovered what amounts to an important by-product of the convention, namely, the advantages to be gained from itineraries tailored to large groups. These advantages include low mileage cost per person through chartered busses, special group rates issued by railroads, student exemption from federal tax, and flat rates (often only half the regular rate) offered by hotels and motels

This past year several states planned itineraries covering as much as two and a half weeks in time, and thousands of miles in distance. North Carolina and New Jersey probably traveled the farthest, each one going nearly six thousand miles. Though New Jersey reached its farthest point at the Grand Canyon, it naturally had to start from the northeast coast. North Carolina braved the Mojave Desert to visit Los Angeles,

Las Vegas, the Hoover Dam, and the Grand Canyon. Pennsylvania rode the famous Route 66 from St. Louis to Albuquerque, as did some other groups. South Carolina and Mississippi journeyed west through the Central States and returned by more southern routes. Louisiana and Texas followed similar though shorter routes. Kentucky decided to return through the north. Other states also had good trips, but no information on them is available to the writer at the present time.

Since Albuquerque was the site of the convention, the places most frequently visited by these state groups were in the Southwest: the Oklahoma oil fields, the Texas panhandle, Santa Fe, the Grand Canyon, El Paso and Juarez, Mexico, the Carlsbad Caverns, the Alamo at San Antonio, fabulous Houston, unique New Orleans, and the Mississippi Valley. For many students this was their first time across the Mississippi. They went "West of the Pecos," saw the "Red River Valley," and were some-what confused by the waters of the Rio Grande, which are said to be "too thick to drink and too thin to plough."

North Carolinians were fortunate enough to have in their group a cousin of movie star Kathryn Grayson, and were therefore treated to sights unavailable to the ordinary tourist. On its last night out South Carolina had a farewell dinner and party in its hotel, with exchanges of gifts, dancing, and special awards for Mr. and Mrs. Congeniality and Mr. and Mrs. Popularity. New Jersey had two unforgettable experiences. One evening the group turned aside to pass through Henderson, Texas, where the members were welcomed by such dignitaries as the chairman of the National ICL Committee, the mayor, and the superintendent of schools, by many parents, and by the entire JCL chapter, and a picnic supper was served to all. On the next afternoon they passed through Jackson, Mississippi; here, thanks to the exceptional thoughtfulness of National JCL Parliamentarian Robert Hauberg, they were given a policeescorted tour of the city, followed by a Southern fried-chicken dinner at the community center in the park. Here too they were greeted by many parents, JCL members, and friends of the organization.

When you read this it will be time to start planning for the eighth national convention at the University of Indiana in Bloomington, Indiana. There are many interesting places within a radius of a few hours' ride: Chicago, Detroit, Columbus, the blue-grass country, Fort Knox, Lincoln's birthplace, Mammoth Cave, St. Louis, and Lincoln's tomb in Springfield, Illinois. You will find more if you simply get out a map and do a little studying of the particular route you will take from your state to the convention site. So start planning. Travel agencies, bus companies, and railroads will cheerfully give you information and assistance. Let's make our next convention better than ever by making the journey there and back much more worthwhile for the delegates.

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THE NOBLE SAVAGE

By DOROTHY ROUNDS
Arlington (Mass.) High School

THE MYTH of the "noble savage" is as old as the myth of the
Golden Age or the Age of Saturn.

Each is an expression of the innate longing of the individual, intensified or diminished according to the economic, social, and political conditions of his environment, for a happy and

carefree existence.

Belief in the moral superiority of primitive over civilized man became widespread and influential in the late seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. In English, the term "noble savage" dates from Dryden's play, The Conquest of Granada (1670): "I am as free as nature first made man, / Ere the base laws of servitude began, / When wild in woods the noble savage ran." Eighty years later, in his Discours sur les Arts et les Sciences, Rousseau formulated the concept of the "natural man," a concept which he further developed in such works as Le Contrat Social and Emile.

Rousseau maintained that man is good by nature and corrupted by civilization. According to him, "natural man" was a pure animal, neither good nor bad; equality disappeared with the appearance of industry, agriculture, property. Laws were instituted merely to consolidate the power of the oppressors over the oppressed, and inequality thus became permanent. A return to the "state of nature" being impossible, the loss of mankind's original innocence could be made tolerable only by substituting a social contract. Rosseau's thesis was that all government should be based on the consent, real or implied, of the governed. As he worked out his political theories, Rousseau was thinking constantly of small states: Sparta, early Rome, and Geneva were his models. He preferred states without division of labor and without the wealth and luxury that accompany it.

For Rousseau, man's nature was based on the hemispheres of self-love and pride, self-love being primal. The noble savage, therefore, sought only what was necessary for life. Pride, on the other hand, would snatch at everything for the pleasure of having more than someone else. By giving up the imaginary needs of pride, people could return, not indeed to the woods, but to nature. (Two thousand years earlier, the Stoic Zeno had said, "The end of man is to live according to nature, which is to live according to virtue; for nature leads us to virtue.") Rousseau believed that nature was right; that nature could lead us to culture; and that culture was right or wrong according to the use made of it. Yet, to judge by history, a taste for culture meant the beginning of corruption among a people; for the source of such a taste must be either idleness or an ambition for personal distinction. Letters, philosophy, arts enfeebled body and soul. Sedentary habits rendered man physically weak; meditation interfered with action. A return to nature was the one thing needful. Nature had made man to be good and happy, while society made him deprayed and miserable.

In his book, The Noble Savage: A Study in Romantic Realism (Columbia University Press, 1928), H. M. Fairchild writes: "To me, a Noble Savage is any free and wild being who draws directly from nature virtues which raise doubts as to the value of civilization . . . The conception of a Golden Age is to the Ancient World as the Noble Savage idea is to the modern world." It is to the ancient world that I now turn, but not to a Golden Age. Instead, it is to an historical period, that of Caesar's De bello Gallico, and to the barbarians he depicted therein, who, if not prototypes of the "noble savage," are certainly reasonable facsimiles thereof.

The locale of the "noble savage" must be remote, and Caesar's third sentence gives us just such a setting: "Horum omnium fortissimi sunt Belgae, propterea quod a cultu atque humanitate provinciae longissime absunt." Early in Book 2, Caesar gives an example of the courage made possible by this remoteness in his account of the attempt of the Belgians—qualified as "audacissime"—to cross the Miette Brook over the bodies of their fallen comrades. Later in the

same book, there is a similar picture of the Nervii, who were so courageous that even "in extrema spe" they stood on the bodies of the slain as though this were the higher place for which Caesar was always looking, and threw the Romans' own weapons back at them. Caesar adorns the tale with the moral that this courage had not been in vain, for it had made easy the most difficult feats: crossing a wide river, climbing high banks, attacking an impossible position. These are the Nervii who had chided the other Belgians for discarding their ancestral courage. The Aduatuci, too, though caught by Caesar's troops "in extrema spe salutis," fought on as brave men ought when all hope consists in courage alone. Also referred to with superlatives are the Germans, with their "incredibili virtute" (1.39)— in particular the Suebi, "gens longe maxima et bellicosissima Germanorum omnium" (4.1).

In all these remote regions, merchants provided the chief corrupting influence. According to Caesar's informants (2.15), the Nervii allowed no wine or other luxuries to be brought into their country. The Germans, too, allowed no wine at all to be imported (4.2), for they believed men to be softened and enervated by it to the point where they could not endure hard work.

Although merchants were kept at a distance by Belgians and Germans, they did have their place in the economic system of these barbarians. As Caesar says, the Germans permitted ingress to them rather to have an outlet for the goods they had captured in war than to be able to purchase goods themselves. Not even foreign horses—a necessity and not a luxury—interested them, but they were satisfied with their own, "parva atque deformia" though they were. Here is an historical "noble savage" riding a mustang and not a palomino!

Caesar takes an obvious interest in the effects of this refusal to take advantage of the goods that Roman civilization could bring to the "noble savage." The Suebi, "quibus ne dii quidem immortales pares esse possint" (4.7), were so large and strong because of their simple life, their high protein diet, and their daily exercise. Three-quarter nudism, or thereabouts, and cold baths helped, too. From childhood the Germans were eager for toil and hardship. They did not eat much grain, but lived largely on milk, cheese, and meat. They loved the hunting and fighting of which their life consisted -a free life without duty or dis-

cipline.

The system of land assignment among the Germans was also designed to maintain physical ruggedness. There was no personal ownership of fields, but a swap took place every year. One of the "multas causas" (6.22.) for this was that the individual would in this way not be tempted to build "accuratius" to avoid cold and heat. Another reason for communal ownership of land was to prevent the desire for war to be displaced by concern over the comparative progress of one's crops or the desire to acquire the superior farm of a neighbor. The source of milk, cheese, and meat, the main articles of diet, apparently was not a risk so far as inspiring envy or covetousness was concerned. (Were there no rustlers in those days?) Still another reason for this agrarian system was to keep the desire for money from arising, a desire which was thought to cause factions and disagreements; when each man saw that his wealth equaled that of the most powerful, the people would be kept in an equitable state of mind.

The customs of the Britons did not differ much from those of the Germans. Though those along the coast cultivated the fields and had a great many cattle, those in the interior did not generally plant grain, but lived on meat and milk and wore wild-animal skins. All the Britons stained their bodies with woad so that the resulting blue color might make them look more terrifying in

battle.

Yet progress could not be shut out entirely. Edward Echols, in a note in the Classical Journal (45, November, 1949, p. 92), demonstrates convincingly that except for luxury items such as wine and spices, the Gauls were familiar with all the appurtenances which traders would bring in. Most of them they even manufactured themselves. His conclusion is that "New ways of doing old things, mass production and mass distribution leading to new values, new desires, new moral concepts, these are the damaging inter-cultural impacts."

After geographical inaccessibility—or remoteness—and limitations on trade comes daily practice in fighting as a factor in producing superior courage. This is the third reason which Caesar gives for the superlative bravery of the Belgians, and for this reason alone the Helvetians were superior to the other Celts in courage. It was the daily fighting prac-

ticed by the German equites, either offensive or defensive, that kept them in training.

Caesar, of course, had a practical interest in the comparative bravery of the various tribes, for from these came his auxiliary troops. Another clue to a possible reason for his interest in the effects of refinement and culture on the peoples he encountered may be found in a statement by Mr. Echols in the note already referred to: "Caesar's mercatores were by no means pioneers; they merely followed the trade routes established earlier by Greek traders who must certainly have laid the ground work for the disintegration of the Gallic national culture. It is even possible that Caesar is here commenting indirectly upon the weakening impact of the 'superior' Greek culture upon the once vigorous native Roman civilization." But above all Caesar was a reporter, one of the greatest of all time. He was really interested in these peoples and their customs. He had a scoop and he knew it. A Britain painted blue to terrify his enemy was a feature item to the man in the Forum, an item which has not lost its interest

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over all the intervening years.

THE PREFACE OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Latinized
By Franz Blatt

University of Aarhus, Denmark (Editor's Note: Professor Blatt has kindly given permission to reproduce his Latin translation of the Preface of the Charter of the United Nations from Classica et Medie-

valia 18 [1957], 145-147.)

NOS, NATIONES gentium uni-tarum, statutum et deliberatum habentes defendere posteritatem omnium saeculorum a flagello Martis, qui bis iam temporibus nostris generi humano dolores inflixit infandos; profiteri denuo esse commune humanitatis ius, humanae naturae excellentiam et dignitatem, aequa virorum et feminarum, magnarum et parvarum gentium iura; statuere condiciones quibus colantur iustitia et verecundia quae debetur foederibus aliisque iuris gentium fontibus; promovere salutem et fortunam omnium aucta libertate; ideoque indulgere aliis et in pace concorditer sicut boni vicini vivere; vires nostras unire ad pacem et securitatem inter nationes sustentandam; cavere certis principiis acceptis et rationibus institutis ne arma sumantur nisi' pro communi bono; uti subsidiis omnium gentium ad omnium hominum prosperitatem et vitae consuetudinem promovendamDecrevimus consiliis communicatis quae nobis proposuimus ad effectum perducere.

Quamobrem singulae respublicae, per eos qui personam earum gesserunt, in urbe Sancti Francisci congregati et publicis auctoritatibus ratis et firmis habitis muniti, convenerunt in praesentem chartam gentium unitarum, quare communitas gentium comprobatur quae vocantur Gentes Unitae.

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WHAT'S WRONG WITH LATIN? By Ernest R. Barra

Huntington (N. Y.) High School ATIN IS undergoing a severe test in this crucial age of space satellites, rocket ships, and jet propulsion. The big demand of education is being focused on technology and kindred scientific studies in a race for supremacy and perhaps even for survival. Since the initial blast of the Soviet satellite into space, the whole structure of our educational philosophy has been revamped to meet the ever-present challenge of world leadership for peace or for war. With such a background it is certainly a wonder that the study of Latin is still maintaining an honored place in our schools today, however tenuous it may be in most schools. The need, therefore, is ever more acute for the teacher of Latin to keep alive student interest in the study of Latin and also to attract

new students to the classics.

Some basic change in the traditional method of teaching Latin is essential. Attention should be given to experimentation with a view to attaining more lasting fealty to the classics than has hitherto been the case. The present status of Latin as an elective study reveals quite clearly that the language of the ancient Romans is not too popular with most students. Sadly enough, many capable students, who would have found the study of Latin a delight, are known to have shied from the course, for any number of reasons. Aside from the usual hackneyed arguments about the practical deficiencies of Latin, there remains for many some unattractive experience with the elementary study of the language. More often than not the complaint is against the monotony and drudgery of drill work and the mechanics of the language, which are emphasized to the detriment of other phases of Latin that can prove very attractive and rewarding. Teachers who place the stress of their teaching on covering a certain amount of material and on drilling forms and rules into the minds of youngsters are approaching the study of Latin in a way that can easily have disastrous results. Instead of an increase in enrollments in Latin classes, the reverse has too often been the outcome. It seems that a constant uphill struggle must be waged to keep the ancient glow of classical studies alive.

It would be more profitable for all concerned to place emphasis on getting students to like Latin so much that they will no longer want to take only two years and "get it over with," but will continue into the third and fourth years and possibly on into college. This is not a farfetched notion or idle fancy; it can easily become a reality. With the proper adjustments, the study of Latin could readily become quite common in today's curriculum. There is no reason why Latin can not be made as popular with the average student as shorthand or typing is with the business student. It is up to the classroom teacher to devise ways and means of inspiring a love for the classics in the elemental stages of the study of the ancient languages. By plunging headlong into the rules, declensions, conjugations, and mechanized drills that have characterized the study of Latin, we take away all chance of instilling beauty into the classroom; instead, we lay the foundation for discouragement and frustration and, in many cases, even revulsion.

Although we must admit that the teaching of grammar is an inescapable necessity, yet we can devise ways and means of making such studies incidental to the far richer goal of learning Latin for pleasure, per se. This is not necessarily a fanciful or idyllic ambition when we consider that we all have tastes, likes, and dislikes in all matters, and that children are no exception. If, therefore, we can get youngsters to enjoy Latin we will have overcome the most important obstacle to our endeavor to win a broader support for the study of Latin and the classics.

Without any doubt the richest source of enjoyment for the beginning Latin student is in the field of mythology, where the fresh, imagi-native mind of the growing youngster finds a ready source of infinite pleasure in the immortal tales of the ancient Greeks and Romans. Teachers would do well to capitalize on this abundant supply of material for the enrichment of Latin teaching rather than laying too much stress on drills and the mechanical para-

digms that generally characterize first-year Latin teaching. Granted, these forms must be learned, but they can be brought into the course in an incidental manner, with the main emphasis on the beautiful stories from the mythology and history of the ancient world. There is, too, a certain personal satisfaction that even children begin to feel in being able to translate and to read with some degree of comprehension.

It would be well to adapt the bulk of our curriculum content to meet the natural likes of youngsters. With a more appealing approach, they could easily be persuaded to enjoy Latin immensely. The story approach is by far the best, and, if more attention were given to this desirable method, it is likely that we could lessen the present degree of apathy among actual and prospective students of Latin.

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WANT A TEACHING POSITION?

The American Classical League maintains a very inexpensive Teacher Placement Service for teachers of Latin and Greek in school or college. For details of the plan see THE CLAS-SICAL OUTLOOK for November, 1960 (page 18), or address the American Classical League Service Bureau, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio.

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I, TIRESIAS

By HERBERT L. CARSON Ferris Institute

First a cluster of tender twigs, Torn untimely from Mother Tree, Rotted in the noon-day sun, Green innards turned to crumbling dust,

Soft bark curling from a thousand heating days.

Pile these twigs, not lovingly, not

tenderly, But carefully, into a pyramid of death and decay.

Then the heart of a frog, Flaky from the heat of a hundred midnight fires,

Its sapience exhausted by the moldy smoke of pine logs.

Tinder this pyramid of twigs and flesh,

Kindle the dry death With the smoky dust that chokes.

No myrrh or incense, But add the dried garlic bud, So that the flame Bursts high, Flames bright, And smolders quickly.

The flame is gone, The fire is dead, The dusty ingredients consumed, But their acrid smoke lingers, Burning my lungs. And my frame, Seared by four thousand summers. Chilled by four thousand winters, Puffs out, Filled with the dust of death. While I live.

I see again, Oh! only for a moment, See again, My hermaphroditic form Bent to inhale the last Of that deathly dust.

There is a boy, they told me-Dark of hair. Skin like the olive-A boy of Corinth, And I inhale the deadly dust: I expand, I see again, And the boy I see is blind. And the incautious couple is blind, And all Corinth is blind. Yet I see.

No, do not bind his dimpled knees, Do not strand him high on the wolf mount.

For he will stumble back again, A full-grown cripple To cripple you.

They laugh at the old man, The blind decay who warns them.

Do not laugh, Throw his dried form on my dead twigs. Do not laugh, For this is your fate.

Remember when golden Bacchus smiled at our city, Remember the scornful king who scoffed at the god,

Remember the Bacchae with their lion's head held high,

Severed from the lion's body. Its head tendons dragging on the ground,

Dripping red-royal blood, While the shrieks of madness whirled our city Into a horror.

Remember the shrieks when, still smiling, The golden Bacchus opened their

eves,

And they beheld their king's head, impaled on their sharp staffs. Remember their cries,

Their lamentations, Their sorrow

Remember the dead king,

Who scoffed at Bacchus and forgot the warning I gave,

Ignored every omen of my wormy fire,
Sniffed at my predictions,
Shrugged at my portents,
Heeded not the word of the gods,
A word not heard,
Not felt,
But seen in the twig-dry lungs of an old man.

No, no, do not pierce his little legs with that cruel spike, Do not bind those dimpled knees, And strand this helpless child on Cithaeron's wolfy slopes.

Give him to me.

Let me deny him food,

Let me keep back water.

Each day, in the hot noon sun,

Let his naked form bake;

Each midnight, before the flaming

pines, let him dry,

And soon, death.

And his naked form will top a pyra-

mid of twigs,

And I shall inhale the fetid smoke
of this flaming and smoldering

decay, I shall fill my lungs fuller than ever, I shall grow and expand until I am

I shall grow and expand until I am taller than all the legendary giants.

Then shall I open my eyes, I shall

Then shall I open my eyes, I shall look down from my heights, and I shall see,

Not the limits of one city and one lifetime,

But the limits of a universe and all its lifetimes.

I shall see all and tell all, And you, people of Thebes, From the smoky visions of my seared lungs,

Will know all. The world will be yours.

Now smoke fills my lungs, and I see for a little while.

I see a young shepherd on Cithaeron tending, Ah! not his flock, but the child.

Death and destruction!
Will the world never see what the blind see?

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CAUSAE BIBENDI

By RALPH MARCELLINO West Hempstead (N. Y.) High School

HORACE' FAMOUS carpe diem passage (Odes 1.11.6-10), those lines that would have us eat, drink, and be merry for tomorrow we die, has always appealed to students—understandably enough: "Sapias, vina liques, et spatio brevi / spem longam reseces. Dum loquimur, fugerit invida / aetas: carpe diem, quam minimum credula postero." "The wine that Horace recommends as a cure

for trouble," says Professor Wilkinson, apropos of this passage (Horace and His Lyric Poetry, p. 43), is merely a symbol for enjoyment of the present." Horace does indeed recommend that we enjoy the present, for, says he, life is sad, short, and uncertain, because time flies and youth passes away with it, neither ever to return, but he recommends that we do it at once and through wine. The contextual meaning, after all, of vina liques is "Drink!" just as the contextual meaning of carpe diem is "Live today!"

It is the old, familiar, hedonistic advice that "pessimistic pleasureseekers" such as Omar are constantly giving us: "Ah, my Beloved, fill the cup that clears / Today of past regrets and future fears. / Tomorrow? Why, tomorrow I may be / Myself with yesterday's seven thousand years." It is the old call to enjoyment-through-drink that comes from those who drink to forget the world, and that kind of drinking, says G. K. Chesterton, is bad ("Omar and the Sacred Vine," p. 105): "It is bad, and very bad, because it is medical wine-bibbing. It is the drinking of a man who drinks because he is not happy. His is the wine that shuts out the universe, not the wine that reveals it. It is not poetical drinking, which is joyous and instinctive; it is rational drinking, which is as prosaic as an investment, as unsavoury as a dose of camomile."

It is interesting and very rewarding, I believe, to contrast Horace' ode with another drinking poem, a fairly modern one, which offers a different, healthier motivation for enjoyment-eat, drink, and be merry, for it's fun to be alive. It is a short poem, in hexameters, written about 1700. I found it originally in Franklin and Bruce' A New Latin Reader (Longmans Green & Co., 1951), page 81: "Si bene commemini, causae sunt quinque bibendi: / bospitis adventus, praesens sitis atque futura, / aut vini bonitas, aut quaelibet altera causa." A certain Henry Aldrich (1647-1710), theologian, musician, and architect, wrote it while he was Dean of Christ Church, Oxford. He was good enough to translate it, too: "If all be true that I do think, There are five reasons we should drink: / Good wine, a friend, or being dry, / Or lest we should be by-and-by- / Or any other reason

I think Chesterton would have liked that poem, though he might have objected to the fifth reason because of its all-inclusiveness. He would have liked it because the tone of this invitation to drink is one of joy and happiness, because it suggests that we drink not to be happy but because we are happy, not because we wish to escape from this world but because we are glad to be in it. The reasons Aldrich lists for drinking approximate those given by Chesterton (loc. cit., pp. 103-104): "Drink because you are happy, but never because you are miserable. Never drink when you are wretched without it, or you will be like the grey-faced gin-drinker in the slum. . Never drink because you need it, for this is rational drinking, and the way to death and hell. But drink because you do not need it, for this is irrational drinking, and the ancient health of the world.'

The discussions which these two poems have aroused in my classes, especially when Chesterton's refreshing ideas are brought in-his essay, incidentally, is taken from his book Heretics-have been lively and considerable. The instructor can extend the discussion even further by reading his students some of Housman's poems, especially the famous Mithridates one (A Shropshire Lad, LXII) for the lines beginning: "And malt does more than Milton can / justify God's ways to man. / Ale, man, ale's the stuff to drink / For fellows whom it hurts to think. / Look into the pewter pot / To see the world as the world's not." Or he might refer his students to Professor McKinlay's article, "The Wine Element in Horace" (Classical Journal 42, 1946-1947, pp. 161-168 and 229-236).

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PARMENIDES' EMPIRICISM By Thomas S. Knight

PARMENIDES, THE founder of Utica College of Syracuse University the Eleatic school of philosophy in ancient Greece, was probably born towards the close of the sixth century B.C., for it is believed that he conversed with the young Socrates in Athens about 450 B.C., during the year of the great Panathenea. He was then an old man, and he may have confounded Socrates with his theory that reality is One, perfectly homogeneous, spherical, full, with nothing beyond, and that the world of sense experience, the world of particulars and change is, therefore, an illusion. He reasoned that coming into existence necessarily involves either coming from something or coming from nothing; whatever comes from something already is and cannot really come to be, and whatever comes from nothing is really nothing, for from nothing nothing comes. Hence, becoming is inconsistent, and the sense world which appears to become must be contradictory and therefore fictional. Parmenides thus developed the first distinction in Western thought between appearance and reality, an extremely important notion to Plato and all later thinkers who valued reason over sense experience. His doctrine is set forth in a poem entitled *On Nature*, which is divided into three parts: "Prologue," "Way of Truth," and "Way of Opinion."

Sextus Empiricus, a Greek physician who was associated with the empirical school of medicine about 200 A.D., wrote skeptical commentaries on the views of ancient scientists and philosophers. He was eager to find evidence of an emphasis on sense experience in any philosophical discourse he investigated, and he claimed to find it in his interpretation of Parmenides' "Prologue." The present paper is an attempt to show that according to one definition of "empiricism" Sextus may be right.

Although Parmenides' rejection of the sense world as inconsistent would seem to brand him a thorough-going rationalist, I think a case can be made for viewing him as somewhat of an "empiricist," at least according to certain usages of the term. An empiricist might hold any or all of the following: the sole source of knowledge is sense experience; knowledge cannot be true a priori (i.e., true independent of empirical tests); there are no necessary truths; the test of truth is not consistency or self-evidence; the meaning of a term consists in the sum of its experiential consequences. Parmenides would not agree. However, in so far as "empiricism" involves the denial of instinctual, innate, or inborn knowledge, I think Parmenides would agree. He would also agree that sense experience is an important, though not the sole, source of knowledge.

That the senses play a part in Parmenides' apprehension of the One Being is a notion entertained, to my knowledge, by very few readers of his poem. Frederick Copleston, for example, says, "It is perfectly true that the Being of Parmenides can be grasped only by thought . . ." (A History of Philosophy [Westminster, Md., 1946], Vol. 1, p. 51). Edward Zeller concludes that the Parmenidean Being is "a purely logical construction . . . an abstract being only apprehended by thought" (Outlines of the History of Greek Philosophy

[New York, 1955], p. 67). Without an analysis of the "Prologue," a read-ing of the "Way of Truth" would lead one to make such statements. Francis M. Cornford, however, sees some of the importance of the "allegorical proem" in preparation for the "Way of Truth." He is convinced that certain aspects of the "Prologue" are symbolic: the "Gates of Night and Day" symbolize light and darkness, which "are the two chief opposites in the world of misleading appearances"; the dwelling of the goddess "on the further side of these gates must be symbolic" (Plato and Parmenides [London, 1950], p. 30). Here Cornford has the clue to Parmenides' empiricism, but he is seventeen hundred years late. In his

EASTER

"Ecce agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccatum mundi." John 1:29.

For program materials for the Easter season, very early this year, see page 74.

Against the Logicians, Sextus Empiricus interpreted Parmenides' "Prologue" as an allegory in which sense experience acts as a catalyst in the pursuit of truth. (All quotations from the "Prologue" are taken from R. G. Bury's translation of Sextus Empiricus in the Loeb Classical Library, vol. 3, pp. 59-61.)

In the "Prologue" two wise steeds draw Parmenides' soul in a chariot from the "Palace of Night" to the gates of "Night and Day." Two clever and soft-spoken damsels guide the way. The damsels persuade Justice, the keeper of the keys, to open the gates, and Parmenides' soul is received by a goddess who immediately proceeds to educate him in the distinction between Truth and Opinion. Sextus finds symbols in the following quotations which assign an important role to the senses in the apprehension of truth: (1) "Far as the soul can aspire have the steeds that hurry me forward / Brought me, (2) seeing that now on the farfamed road they have set me, / Road of the Daemon which all-whither leadeth the truth-witting mortal. / (3) By that road I was drawn; for the fam'd steeds drew me by that road / Pulling the chariot amain; and damsels guided my going. / (4) Glowing within its nave the axle sang like a reed-pipe- / Furnish'd

on either side with a pair of wheels well-rounded— / Whenas the Sunborn damsels in haste proceeded to bring me / Into the sun-light, leaving behind them the chambers of Darkness, / When with their hands they had stript from their heads the mantles that veiled them . . . (5) Justice, dealer of dooms, doth keep the keys which unlock them. / Her the damsels addressing with soft and flattering speeches / Artfully won her consent to push the bolted cross-bar / Back from the gates . . ."

For Sextus the steeds (1) represent irrational components of the soul that inspire the individual to seek truth, and the road over which they travel (2) represents the pathway to knowledge. As Sextus puts it, " the 'far-famed road of the Daemon' they travel is that of investigation according to philosophical reason, which reason, like a Divine conductor, points the way to the knowledge of all things." The damsels which guide the chariot (3) are referred to as "Sun-born" and as having "stript from their heads the mantles that veiled them" (4). This description moved Sextus to regard the damsels as representatives of the faculty of sight, and since the axle of the chariot gave out a pipe-like sound as the wheels rotated (4), Sextus likened the wheels to ears, representing the hearing faculty. As Parmenides draws near the gates of Night and Day the damsels skillfully persuade Justice to allow the gates to be opened (5); according to Sextus, "... the approach to 'Justice, dealer of dooms, which holds 'the keys which unlock them,' is that to intelligence which holds safe the apprehensions of things. And she, after welcoming him, promises to teach him two things . . . Justice and the goddess are, for Sextus, two names for intellect. This identification seems to be justified. There is nothing in the poem to separate their identity, and in the "Way of Truth" Justice and Reason (or Logic, or Mind) are implicitly equated.

This ingenious interpretation implies that Parmenides' pursuit of truth begins with and is directed by sensation. Sense experience conveys one to the very gates of the realm of truth. Just how this is accomplished is not stated in the "Prologue," but it is implied in the "Way of Opinion." Sense tells us that reality is many and constantly changing, passing from being to non-being. One must realize the contradictions involved in sense experience and go beyond it to the conception of a sta-

tic unity which excludes non-being. One must reject the Way of Opinion, which results from a naïve acceptance of sense experience, and, allowing reason to guide him, affirm

the Way of Truth.

Therefore, if Parmenides' poem is carefully read, he does not advocate an arbitrary leap from sense to reason. The world of sense and the world of reason are dichotomized and left without relation, but this separation is understood only after the individual has gradually come to the acceptance of mind as the sole criterion of reality. The gradual transition from sense to reason is implied in the artful, flattering persuasion of the damsels, which represents perception as a necessary phase in the process of acquiring knowledge. This interpretation credits the senses with utility in the knowing process.

Thus Parmenides seems to be more of an empiricist than most students of ancient philosophy would admit. So far as the nature and limits of knowledge are concerned, he is certainly a thoroughgoing rationalist. The final test of knowledge is consistency, and once tested it is a priori, but from the above analysis he seems to consider sense experience as the ground, the starting point from which rational inquiry proceeds. He does not hold knowledge to be temporally prior to sensation, and this denial precludes his considering knowledge as instinctual, innate, or

inborn.

BOOK NOTES

The Roman Art of War under the Republic. By F. E. Adcock. New York: Barnes & Noble, 1960. Pp. 140. \$3.00.

This is a reprint of Volume VIII of the Martin Classical Lectures, originally published by the Harvard University Press in 1940, at which time it was reviewed in The Classical Outlook XVIII, April, 1941, p. 72, by Professor Carr. For those who do not save back issues and those who have become readers of this publication since that time, a brief review is in order.

The five lectures that compose the volume briefly discuss "The Men," "The Sea," "The Land," "Foreign Policy and General Strategy," and "Generalship." The treatment is "from the point of view of a philosopher-historian rather than that of an antiquarian or tactician," to quote

Professor Carr. In the words of the author, "It is my business... to discuss the way in which the Romans used the means to their hand in the circumstances of their time, and to attempt a judgment upon them as soldiers or sailors and as directors of military power" (p. 4). There are bibliographical notes and a rather full index.

Interested readers are referred to the same author's *The Greek and Macedonian Art of War* (Sather Classical Lectures, vol. 30; see The Classical Outlook XXXV, March, 1958, p. 68) and E. S. McCartney's *Warfare by Land and Sea*, in the series "Our Debt to Greece and Rome."

-K. G

War Commentaries of Caesar. Translated by Rex Warner. ("Mentor Books," MD280.) New York: The New American Library of World Literature, 1960. Pp. 335. 50¢.

Imperial Caesar. By Rex Warner. Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown, 1960. Pp. viii plus 343. \$5.00.

It is fascinating first to reread Caesar's Commentaries in this vigorous and up-to-date translation by Rex Warner and then to follow Mr. Warner's clever and subtle recreation of the same events as Caesar might have recalled them in the privacy of his own thoughts, in the sequel to his first novel on the subject, The Young Caesar (cf. The Classical Outlook XXXVI, April, 1959, p. 80).

The translation joins those already available at a low price in Modern Library, Everyman's Library, and Penguin editions. It is distinctive in its substitution throughout of the first for the third person singular in referring to Caesar, a procedure which comes as a shock at first, but soon makes sense: presumably, a Caesar writing for a modern audience accustomed to reading autobiography would not have thought of using anything but "I." This version is furthermore remarkably successful in avoiding even the slightest flavor of "translationese"; one feels that this is the way Caesar would have written had he used 1960 English instead of classical Latin. (The only exception is the excessive use of the stilted "the higher ground.") There are no notes, although the reader is warned of lacunae and suspected interpolations, e.g., on the Hercynian Forest. The two maps are quite inadequate, as is the appendix of modern and ancient geographical equivalents. (In the Gallic War towns are usually given their Latin names: Alesia, Agedincum, Noviodunum—but Paris; in the *Civil War* the preference is for the modern forms: Durazzo, Brindisi, Rimini.)

Mr. Warner is as good at historical fiction as he is at translating. Caesar, trying vainly to fall asleep as he waits for the Ides of March to dawn, rehearses in his mind the eventful years since he entered upon the governorship of the two Gauls. Campaigns and battles, hesitations and decisions, comments upon people and places as they have affected his life. his hopes and plans for Rome, the work he has accomplished and that which is still to do, views on politics, government, religion, ethics, esthetics pass in caleidoscopic yet orderlyit is Caesar's mind-fashion before the mind's eye. This is not a mere retelling of the contents of the Commentaries; the striking and the important are picked out while dull details of military strategy, of value for the historian but inconsequential on a sleepless night, make room for personal reflections and reminiscences. Skillful is the way Caesarian phrases and thoughts, authenticated from ancient sources, have been woven into the narrative, giving it verisimilitude and adding credibility even to the purely fictional portions. Still more skillful, and effective, is the constant use of dramatic irony: "[Assassination] is a danger which, though I take no precautions against it, is something, I suppose, to be reckoned with in Rome. But I only have one more day in Rome" (p. 5); "I suspect that, if I were murdered tomorrow, [Cicero] would be one of the first to congratulate the murderers" (p. 206); "Or, as I know well at this age, I may die at any moment from an accident or an in-evitability of illness. I may even, I suppose, be assassinated" (p. 342).

The novel is equipped with two excellent maps, though there are some omissions, and Nymphaeum is badly misplaced. Also unfortunate is the lack of consistency in geographical nomenclature: why "Geneva" ical nomenclature: why but "Vesontio"? Why "Rimini" but "Brundisium"? And the chapter headings are very ordinary. But these are minor flaws. Taken together with its predecessor, Imperial Caesar is a worthy, and more ambitious, competitor to such outstanding interpretations of Julius Caesar as Balderston and Bolitho's A Goddess to a God, Wilder's The Ides of March, and Phyllis E. Bentley's Freedom,

Farewell!

Before and after Socrates. By Francis Macdonald Cornford. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1960. Pp. x plus 113. Paperback, \$1.25.

First published in 1932, these four lectures have been justly acclaimed as "a masterly piece of condensation," "a competent statement . . . of what the Greek philosophers believed and why," and "a brilliant commentary on the Greek mind and its attitude to life." They are entitled, respectively, "Ionian Science before Socrates," "Socrates," "Plato" (with an excellent account of Pythagoras), and "Aristotle," the last ending in some fine pages on the Epicureans and the Stoics.

Cornford's views have lost none of their freshness and cogency since they were first uttered almost thirty years ago, and his language is as lucid and pleasant to read as ever. The publishers deserve our gratitude for making this little classic available again, and in a format that is inexpensive yet sturdy, handsome, and very kind to the eyes.

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Plato: Gorgias. Translated with an Introduction by W. Hamilton. ("Penguin Classics," L94.) Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1960. Pp. 149. 956.

For the Greekless reader, Plato's dramatic skill, brilliant character portraval, deep moral conviction, and philosophical subtlety are fully appreciable only in a contemporary translation that will sound as modern to him as Plato's Greek sounded to Greek readers of the fourth century B.C. That is why the standard translations, such as those of Benjamin Jowett, must be constantly supplemented by new efforts to make Plato available to our society. Penguin Books are performing this difficult task with admirable success. We are already indebted to them for fresh versions of the Symposium, the Republic, the Protagoras and the Meno, and the Apology, the Crito, and the Phaedo. Now the Gorgias joins its sister dialogues in an excellent new translation by W. Hamilton, who also provides a thoughtful introduction (pp. 7-17) and all the footnotes needed to understand the historical and cultural background of the work.

Dedicated to the proposition "that one should avoid doing wrong with more care than being wronged," the Gorgias is an outstanding example of the Platonic qualities mentioned above. The venerable Sicilian sophist Gorgias, his fatuous companion Polus, and the impetuous, wrong-

headed, and stubborn Callicles beautifully set off the impudent cleverness and the serene wisdom of the Platonic Socrates in an engrossing conversation piece that begins by discussing the values of public oratory and concludes with the moving, Christian-like myth of the soul's Day of Judgment. As one of the earlier dialogues, it is relatively simple to follow, and constitutes a good approach to Plato's more developed thought.

Plato's Phaedo. Translated with Introduction and Commentary by R. Hackforth. ("The Library of Liberal Arts," 120.) New York: The Liberal Arts Press, 1960. Pp. x plus

-K. G.

200. \$1.25.

The present paperback is an exact reprint of a 1955 (not 1952, as stated on the copyright page) cloth volume from the Cambridge University Press, which the undersigned reviewed in extenso in the Classical Journal 51,

April, 1956, pp. 347-348.

Professor Hackforth, who previously had done a fine job on the Philebus (Plato's Examination of Pleasure, 1945) and on Plato's Phaedrus (1952)—both available also from the Liberal Arts Press—reaches his peak on the Phaedo, which presents Plato's discussion of the soul and its immortality, and which some critics rate superior even to the Symposium. A very full concurrent commentary is interspersed throughout a most readable translation.

Many readers of The Classical Outlook, it is hoped, will take advantage of these inexpensive editions of Professor Hackforth's excellent work on some of Plato's master-pieces.

-Robert G. Hoerber Westminster College, Fulton, Mo.

Religion in Plato and Cicero. By John E. Rexine. New York: Philosophical Library, 1959. Pp. 72. \$2.75.

To the undersigned the volume was a disappointment. Both the title and the copyright page, acknowledging a grant from "the Colgate University Research Committee in support of the research that has made this book possible," prepare the reader for some original research in an extremely challenging topic. But, alas, his interest will wane in the Preface, which limits the bibliography consulted primarily to A. E. Taylor's The Laws of Plato, one edition of Cicero's Laws (Loeb), the Platonic texts of England, Bury (Loeb), Hermann (Teubner), and

Burnet (Oxford), and a 1937 edition

of Jowett.

The General Introduction of one page increases the disappointment by proving the title to be misleading; for the study is limited to one work of Plato, his Laws, and one of Cicero, the mutilated and fragmentary Laws. In fact the core of Rexine's volume is a collection of passages from the two works cited interspersed with brief comments. The results of the "research," presented in a chapter of one-half page (52), lead to the following General Con-clusions: "Both in Plato and in Cicero, religion is necessary and important for the stability of the state. Plato tends to be very severe in the matter of violations of the established religion: Cicero insists upon the kinship of man with the gods, and implies that the gods could be very useful, in fact have been very useful, if they are properly respected, in the manner of their forefathers. Plato is naturally much more metaphysical and idealistic; Cicero hearkens back to his Roman ancestors and the historical greatness of the Roman state." The chapter following the General Conclusions, entitled "The Platonic Conclusions, entitled Attitude Toward Poetry," adds practically nothing to the theme of the volume, reflects largely the views of W. C. Greene published in the Harvard Studies in Classical Philology of 1918, and repeats to a great extent quotations and comments contained in earlier chapters (cf. pp. 55-57 with

pp. 24, 26-27).

A study of religion in Plato is a most interesting and challenging subject, but it must include the entire corpus of Plato, particularly his Euthyphro. The readers of The CLASSICAL OUTLOOK who wish to pursue the subject in secondary sources may consult F. Solmsen, Plato's Theology; G. M. A. Grube, Plato's Thought (pp. 150-178); J. K. Feibleman, Religious Platonism (pp. 14-82); or the recent volume of Glenn R. Morrow, Plato's Cretan City.

In spite of the copyright page, however, this monograph may have been intended only for the lay reader. But the occasional transliterated Greek phrases and the extensive citations from Cicero in Latin will detract from its use by the non-classicist.

-Robert G. Hoerber Westminster College, Fulton, Mo.

The Mind of Plato. By A. E. Taylor. ("Ann Arbor Paperbacks," AA41.) Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1960. Pp. 148. \$1.45. The present paperback, a reprint of a 1922 edition originally entitled *Plato*, by one of the leading Platonists of the twentieth century, contains four chapters: "Life and Writings," "Knowledge and Its Objects," "The Soul of Man—Psychology, Ethics, and Politics," and "Cosmoleus"."

Both the beginning student of Greek philosophy and the more mature Platonist should be grateful to The University of Michigan Press for making available again the brief but pertinent remarks of Professor A. E. Taylor, who is best known perhaps for his larger volume, Plato: The Man and His Work. The beginning student will profit primarily from the first, third, and fourth chapters; for they present respectively background material on Plato's compositions, a brief résumé mainly of the Republic, and a sketch of the Timaeus, raising the question of Plato's possible anticipation of Co-

To the more mature Platonist, however, the second chapter should be the most rewarding; for here the author reveals keen insights into several basic problems of Platonism, such as Plato's Ideas vs. Berkeley's "Idealism" or Philo's "creative conceptions of God," the transcendence or immanence of the Ideas, Plato's "dialectic" contrasted with modern philosophical mathematicians, and the implications of Idea-Numbers, as attributed to Plato by Aristotle.

For further study upon the completion of Taylor's volume we recommend G. M. A. Grube's *Plato's Thought*, which gives a thorough topical treatment of Plato, including the light cast on each subject in the *Laws* (a treatise not treated in Taylor's volume), and which is available now as a "Beacon Paperback."

-Robert G. Hoerber Westminster College, Fulton, Mo.

Aristotle: Metaphysics. Translated by Richard Hope. ("Ann Arbor Paperbacks," AA42.) Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1960. Pp. xvii and 394. \$2.45.

Since the present edition is a reprint of the 1952 cloth volume published by the Columbia University Press, a brief note should suffice.

According to Paul Shorey, Aristotle's "Metaphysics, as it stands, is a hopeless muddle in which no ingenuity of conjecture can find a certain order of thought" (Classical Philology 19 [1924], p. 382). Although Professor Shorey's judgment may be unnecessarily gloomy, his remark underlines the difficulty fac-

ing any translator of the Metaphysics.

In spite of the abstruse subject matter and the omnipresent textual problems, however, Mr. Hope has produced a remarkably readable rendition by transferring into English the thought rather than merely the words and sentences of the original. Keeping in mind the college student, for whom the volume was intended primarily, the author adds two aids:

1) a summary of the content, book by book, in outline form; and 2) an index of technical terms, with cross references in the text.

-Robert G. Hoerber Westminster College, Fulton, Mo.

Aristotle. By John Herman Randall, Jr. New York: Columbia University Press, 1960. Pp. xv plus 309. \$5.00.

As an introduction to Aristotle this work is considerably more lively than most since Randall's approach is highly personal. It pretends to no originality, but it is critically aware of a good deal of the modern scholarship in the field, primarily that approaching Aristotle from a philosophical rather than from a philological point of view. Though the work is clearly intended for Greekless readers, the author is to be commended for systematically giving the Greek equivalents of important terms; a special index to these Greek terms would, however, have been of great value. Occasionally, in his search for English equivalents, Randall resorts to an unfortunate term; his "nousing" (p. 81) for noesis is nothing short of comical. But some of the clearest and most valuable discussions in the book are devoted to such terms as nous and ousia.

Though proceeding systematically through all of the Aristotelian corpus, Randall concentrates on the physics, the metaphysics, and the biological treatises, since he finds it easiest in these works to illustrate Aristotle's functionalism (i.e., the understanding of an organism in terms of how its component parts function and behave in their context), teleology, and opposition to mathematics-points of view which Randall in his personal philosophy obviously admires and upon which he has drawn in his Nature and Historical Experience. But Randall is a little too eager to make Aristotle a thoroughgoing functionalist; thus he admits that Aristotle never treats logos as one of the functions making up "life," but he adds that Aristotle "ought" to have included such a

Randall acknowledges the brilliance of Jaeger's attempt (anticipated not merely by Thomas Case, as Randall [p. 11] realizes, but also by Bernays and Zeller) to show the development of Aristotle's thought from the Platonism of the lost dialogues to an increasing emphasis on empirical investigation, but he rightly regards the hypothesis as too neat (p. 259) and, with fine insight, looks upon Aristotle not so much as moving away from Plato as adding to him (pp. 21 and 244). Moreover, much of Jaeger's thesis rests on a reconstruction of Aristotle's lost Protrepticus; and Randall should have noted that W. G. Rabinowitz, in his 'Aristotle's Protrepticus and the Sources of Its Reconstruction, I," University of California Publications in Classical Philology, 16 (1957),

1-96, has cast grave doubt on the as-

sumption that the fragments in lam-

blichus are really from Aristotle's

treatment in his De anima (p. 102).

The chief difference between this and most other introductory treatments of Aristotle is that it approaches Aristotle from the standpoint of modern science and philosophy and endeavors to find those elements in Aristotle which anticipate modern attitudes. Aristotle thus emerges with such modern labels as behaviorist, operationalist, contextualist, and, above all, functionalist (p. 31). The most interesting of Randall's theses is that whereas the seventeenth century, and most notably Newton, overthrew Aristotle's functionalism in the realm of physics, the twentieth century has found the physicists thinking increasingly in functional and contextual terms (p. 167); in other words, Aristotle anticipated modern science in bridging the gap between the biological and physical sciences. Again, Aristotle's notion that all living organisms, including man, are to be understood in terms of their behavior in their context, makes Aristotle, as Randall triumphantly notes, a thoroughgoing behaviorist, close to the Gestalt psychologists (p. 67). And Aristotle's emphasis on the survival value of the adaptations which living creatures make to their environment shows that he anticipated modern evolutionary theorists (p. 229).

That this is a slanted, highly personal apologia for Aristotle is obvious from the chief "villains" that emerge: Thomas Aquinas, whose Platonized reconstruction of Aristotle, e.g., the interpretation that Aristotle's nous is capable of independent

existence (p. 94), Randall criticizes adversely; Spinoza, whom Randall calls the only really important philosopher in modern thought, but whose mathematical, non-teleological, non-functional outlook failed to understand life (p. 3); and Hegel, who is "not only a German, to whom such bybris [i.e., in his conviction "that man 'understands' better than anything else in the universe (as opposed to Aristotle, who humbly ascribed the highest understanding to the stars), and that he, Hegel, understands better than any other man"] comes naturally, but also a German Romanticist, in whom it is perfected" (p. 142).

Though less thorough in its coverage (Randall is especially skimpy in treating the Ethics) and less scholarly than the introduction to Aristotle by Mure, Randall is much more readable and definitely more exciting. Like D. J. Allan's little volume on Aristotle in the Home University Library series, Randall concentrates more on problems than on systematic coverage, but he is much more sympathetic, and rightly so, in his treatment of Aristotle's methodology in physics. In summary, the chief virtue of this book is that it shows Aristotle's vitality for twentieth-century thought.

Louis H. Feldman Yeshiva University

Anaximander and the Origins of Greek Cosmology. By Charles H. Kahn. New York: Columbia University Press, 1960. Pp. xvii plus 250. \$6.50.

Our knowledge of Anaximander's doctrines depends upon a single fragment from his works cited by the late Aristotelian commentator Simplicius, plus a few statements about him collected in Diels' Fragmente der Vorsokratiker. Kahn's greatest contribution is in the care with which he examines the parallel accounts of the doxographers in order to reconstruct the original version of Theophrastus from which it is clear that all were drawn. His comments on grammatical, lexicographical, and stylistic points are particularly illuminating; and his knowledge of the secondary literature is impressive. His work is much easier to use than is Diels', since he arranges the fragments by subject matter, thus permitting the comparison of the various doxographers on a given point at a glance. It is regrettable that the author has omitted the statements of later doxographers when he thought that they were derived from the earlier ones; for when we are working with such slight materials it is helpful to have every fragment before us. Kahn gives his own translation of the important fragments, though it would have been helpful and would have avoided repetition if he had combined his translation and discussion of topics 10-23 (pp. 75 ff.) with his earlier presentation and discussion of the Greek text of these topics.

Kahn's discussion (pp. 85 ff.) of Anaximander's view that the circle of the sun is twenty-seven times as great as that of the moon is of considerable interest. Diels had concluded that this view reflected the mystic enchantment for Anaximander of the number three. But Kahn, pointing to the analogy of the three cosmic steps of Vishnu in the Vedas, contends that the use of numbers as symbols of a unified world is rational. He is right in declaring (p. 96) that Anaximander believed in a world governed by simple mathematical ratios. There is, however, no direct evidence to support Kahn's theory that Anaximander utilized the astronomical data of the Babylonians; and even if he did, the assignment of arbitrary numerical ratios to these observations is hardly rational

The key chapter in Kahn's book contains his discussion of the sole fragment of Anaximander's work that has survived. Kahn argues (p. 168), against Diels and most other commentators, that the Boundless is not even mentioned therein, and that the whole attention of Simplicius, who cites it, is focused on the notion of elements from which arise all things. But the fragment does explicitly mention the Boundless, for it says that "it is neither water nor any other of the so-called elements, but some different, boundless nature from which all the heavens arise and the worlds within them." The next sentence states Anaximander's belief that the generation of existing things is "from those things." Kahn rightly objects to understanding the plural as referring to the Boundless, but his suggestion that it is elements from which all things arise is somewhat misleading. Perhaps, it may be here suggested, Anaximander conceives of things coming into being in two steps: first, heavens arise from the Boundless, and then existing things arise from the heavens and from the worlds in them. Hence the ultimate source for all things is the Boundless. Simplicius' comment after the fragment makes it clear that it is not the elements but the substratum that is the ultimate source.

This book is much more than an account of Anaximander's doctrines or even of pre-Socratic thought. Thus Kahn shows (pp. 154 ff.) the basic continuity of Empedocles' doctrine of the four elements and his theory of opposites with previous Greek thought; he finds the ingredients of these theories in Homer and Hesiod, and their development in the Milesian school, especially Anaximander. Similarly Anaximander's notion of the order of nature-cosmic justice-as an "ordinance of time" is successfully traced back (pp. 191-193) to Homer's and Hesiod's merging of nature and society; and, as the author reminds us (p. 191), this oldest formulation of natural law also plays an important role in modern physics.

This learned study closes with two appendices containing valuable contributions to lexicography: "The Usage of the Term Kosmos in Early Greek Philosophy" and "The Apeiron of Anaximander."

-Louis H. Feldman Yeshiva University

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